3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfī brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhīn, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

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Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbītsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Aʿraj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the ʿAlawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith ʿAmmarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

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an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Isrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

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778 canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in
●788 any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles,
443 from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here)
to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some
of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid
[562] al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men
and women remain sharply segregated.

788 Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the
735 Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy
Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous
to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in
a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later
counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the
ṭulbā attending (1).

788 The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two
778 decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members
795 of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignifi-
575 cant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not
781 have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects
to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot
between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and
a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by
their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula
Lā ilāha illā 'llāh, «There is no god but God», over and over, while
the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the
'imrah, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy:
and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused
with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which
the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the
non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 tulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Tuzirth-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Iezinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total tulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

[41]

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A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

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a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside
[191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the [222] village headmen.

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This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* [735] in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[155] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[196] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [188] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must [182] sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[196] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

[114] It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) [788] before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

000
[656] 187--Firearms have been prohibited in the Rif since 1926, and still are at date of writing (1961).

188--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, a hunting party always consists of at least four or five persons, more often ten to twenty; and it hunts the whole day, away from the village, returning home only at night. The catch, even if only one rabbit, is divided up equally among the hunters, no matter how many; and on the same principle, fines are equally shared by all members of a hunting party. The owner of a ferret (nims, pl. inimsan) which has caught an animal gets the head; and the owner of a trap (dhakhshifth, made of iron and generally reserved for larger animals) into which an animal has fallen has a right to the whole animal, even if someone else should discover it in the trap before the owner arrives. If an animal in flight passes through the land of any person, it still belongs to the hunter no matter who catches or kills it; this, however, presumably does not often happen, for hunting is always done away from the village.

[411] Rabbits and hares are always hunted with sticks, and in snow. Generally, the hunters wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing their sticks, because if a rabbit's face is smashed by a stick, the man who threw it is accused of being a poor hunter by his fellows.

[788] It is customary to pronounce the Muslim invocation "Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim!" ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!") before throwing or shooting at an animal or before setting a trap, as this act renders the meat halal, or lawful for human consumption, the same as if its throat had been cut. If an animal is found dead (imwardhas, "dead animal"), it is thrown away.

189--What is presumably meant here are qadi's and other Muslim legal personnel.

190--As the catch is equally divided, so fines are equally shared, among the hunters.

191--The only dogs used for hunting in the Rif are a kind of greyhound or saluki, called in Rifian ushshai, pl. ushshayen. Hunting with greyhounds, however, is not done in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar.

192--This proves that hunting is indeed a corporate and cooperative venture, based on a principle of share and share alike.

193--In other words, it is the presence or absence of a circle around the burrow which denotes ownership and which is in fact the most visual and reliable proof of same.

194--And in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar as well.

[13] 195--Blanco and R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M., Diccionario Español-Rifeño, Madrid 1944, p. 355, both give as the term for "partridge net" thinigmarth, pl. thinigmar (which also means "hunting"); and Ibáñez lists this as the term in use both in Ibuqquyen and in Iqar'ayen. In the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however, a partridge net is termed dhabhyuth.

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a dinoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 484 626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
57] anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 197 Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[10] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

R S 197 In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

R 175 771 Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

R 175 779 Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

R 177 175 779 [788] Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[10] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell, K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.